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ABSTRACT

In contrast to those Sociologists who have in the past identified with and accepted the ruling class notion of Integration and have proceeded to develop elaborate models of race relations cycles, pluralism or other assimilationist and functionalist models to support this basic assumption, the author argues that Sociologists should instead attempt to develop dynamic models (e.g. based on the Dialectics) to show why some form of black Separation is inevitable and the form that it can take as well as the processes which are leading to this. In trying to locate blacks in the American social and political structure politicians, scholars and laymen alike have used the concept of "Integration" and "Separation" to designate polar points on a continuum which relates blacks to the American social structure. These two terms are elevated to "ideals" in the United States because the best majority of blacks are suspended on the margins of both possibilities. The predominant and recurring fact is neither integration or separation, but a state of limbo, of marginality. The Sociology of Black Separation should therefore be concerned with basically three facts: the white denial of integration, the condition of black marginality, and the ensuing imperative of black separation. (Author/JM)

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THE SOCIOLOGY OF BLACK SEPARATISM

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THE SOCIOLOGY OF BLACK SEPARATISM

This analysis begins with the value-laden meta-sociological postulate that the purpose of Sociology should be (i) to enhance our understanding of society by analysing, elucidating, clarifying and explaining social inter-connections. This would then enable us to (ii) predict social occurrences and also (iii) facilitate social construction and social reorganization. Such should constitute the basic aims and justification of Sociology, or of any of the social sciences. Our discussion of Separatism should therefore constantly bear these specifications in mind. However, before we tackle the problem itself, we are ourselves tackled by the issue of the mode of analysis and the theoretical procedure or perspective which we, as Sociologists, must use in our attempt to understand and impart this understanding of social inter-connections to others.

Despite the manifold disagreements in Sociology, there is remarkable unanimity amongst Sociologists on one point. Sociologists ranging from Marx, Tocqueville, Durkheim, Weber down to Talcott Parsons have all concurred to the importance of "interest" in holding human groups together. Several in fact constructed models of social interaction based upon "interest." Admittedly, consensus theorists like Durkheim and Parsons wrongly confused particular group interest with general societal interest, thereby failing to recognize the diversity and even conflicting interests within the total whole. Never-

theless this concept remains useful, for once we accept that (1) the basic division in American society has been and is based on colour and "race," and that (2) there is a compulsive imperative inherent to group interests, we are on our way in understanding the relationship between blacks and whites over time. Once we clearly understand the dichotomous interests of whites and blacks on an historic plane, we have a reasonable tool for understanding and prediction. This is based on the equally reasonable assumption that whites have been and will be impelled to think and act in ways that enhance their group interest. Concurrently, it is logical and reasonable for blacks to deviate from the status quo along separate and independent lines in ways that will increase the welfare and power of the black collectivity. Such a perspective as this, simple as it sounds, can help us to locate and explain this location of blacks within the American social structure over time, and at the same time suggests a way of conceiving a solution to our problem.

In trying to locate blacks in the American social and political structure politicians, scholars and laymen alike have used the concept of "Integration" and "Separation" to designate polar points on a continuum which relates blacks to the American social structure. What else? While working class movements have traditionally fought on a dimension of "Leftism" and "Rightism", the black struggle has been defined in terms of Integration and Separation, an orientation which suggests

a far more complex and multi-dimensional problem. While the working classes struggled chiefly for economic benefits, the black struggle has been cultural, economic, psychological - in a word, a much more total and all inclusive struggle; it is a "people's" or "national" struggle rather than simply a class struggle. Therefore "Leftist" and "Rightist" designations are far too narrow, and as such can be applied to integrationists and separatists alike.

However, appropriate as the conceptual definition of the Afro-American position might have been, in terms of Integration and Separation, the fact is that these two terms are elevated to "ideals" in the United St tes because the vast majority of blacks have neither been "integrated" or "separated", but rather in a state of limbo and inbetween-ness, suspended on the margins of both possibilities. The predominant and recurring fact is neither integration nor separation, but a state of limbo, of marginality. Basic to the black experience are: (i) a rejection by white society; (ii) an inability and powerlessness to live their own independent lives. Blacks have been intentionally molded into a "marginal" people, because this condition of marginality is evidently consonant with the interests of whites much more than the other two possibilities.

Our stress and focus on marginality is deliberate and will hopefully be seen as justified as our analysis unfolds. In Sociology the concept itself takes on many other semantic

forms thereby diffusing and diminishing the general occurrence, and hence, importance of this phenomenon. It covers roughly the same phenomena as "relative deprivation", "status inconsistency" and "reference group theory." For blacks "marginality" is more problematic than poverty per se, for there is abundant data which attest to the fact that the poor often work out enduring and ordered relationships, in the face of poverty. Poverty becomes more problematic in a context of affluence - when juxtaposed alongside affluence - and when the poor are exposed to the possibility of wealth but denied the means to attain this. Marginality is thus viewed here as the common denominator and monstrocity against which blacks struggle. It transcends national, economic and class frontiers. It is the basic situation faced by all blacks whether in Africa or America, whether black bourgeoisie or black proletariat, or black lumpen.

While blacks often quibble amongst themselves and construct complicated systems of intra-group categories based on colour and class, as far as out-group relations are concerned, "a nigger, is a nigger, is a nigger." This clearly differentiates them from say the poor whites who are poor but not "marginal" in this sense.

The Sociology of Black Separation should therefore be concerned with basically three facts:

(i) The white denial of integration

(ii) The condition of black marginality

(iii) The ensuing imperative of black separation

(i) Integration - Real and Token

True integration involves assimilation and a destruction of the racial frontiers of the subordinate group so that it merges indelibly into the larger society. Instead of being a "no-body" or a "black", the integrated individual becomes a "Black Anglo-Saxon" or a "Black Afro-Saxon" - "black on the outside, white on the inside." Such blacks might have full stomachs, but to them the question may still be posed: what does it profit a man to gain the whole world, but loose his group soul?

Even so, this ideal of true integration is never attained in American society. American society has always been a "herrenvolk democracy": These are

> regimes such as those of the United States or South Africa, that are democratic for the master race but tyrannical for the subordinate groups. The desire to preserve both the profitable forms of discrimination and exploitation and the democratic ideology made it necessary to deny humanity to the oppressed groups.[1]

At most, blacks have attained only token concessions and token integration. This was what Malcolm X meant when he

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1. Pierre L. Van den Berghe, Race and Racism, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1967, p. 18.

derisively sneared that "Integration means that now black people can sit next to white people and eat a hamburger or act side by side and use the same toilet."

It is impossible for blacks to get absorbed into the present system as a group because all capitalist societies, by their very nature, need a subject group. The Civil Rights Movement, to the extent that it attained any success, allowed only for the absorption of a few token individuals into the system, but even so they are absorbed at a great cost to themselves and to the black community. As Lerone Bennett so loudly proclaimed in the August 1973 issue of Ebony: "For blacks in America, there is only one thing worse than failing in America - and that is succeeding in America." It destroys the potential dynamism of the black community by this process of tokenism and diffusion, as instanced in Frazier's description of black intellectuals.

> ...for most Negro intellectuals the integration of the Negro means... the emptying of his life of meaningful content and ridding him of all Negro identification. For them, integration and eventual assimilation means, the annihilation of the Negro - physically, culturally and spiritually.[2]

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2. E. Franklin Frazier, The Failure of the Negro Intellectual," in E. Franklin Frazier on Race Relations, University of Chicago Press, 1968.

(2) Marginality and its Costs

White strategy has been to keep blacks in a state of marginality and alienation by means of token integration, token separation and aparthied separation. These choices have meant that Afro-Americans can either be "white", or a "no-body" or a sub-human. Either way, it reflects either a condition of utter alienation, internal anguish and despair on the one hand, or a virulent type of false-consciousness and dilusion on the other.

At this point we may as well elaborate on the concept of marginality. The marginality of Afro-Americans takes on both cultural and social forms. Robert Park pioneered the cultural usage of marginality. For him, the marginal man is a cultural hybrid in that he lives in "two, not merely different but antagonistic cultures."[3]. The marginal man, argues Park, is "an effect of imperialism, economic, political and cultural".. .. He is "a cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples; never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with its past and its traditions, and not quite accepted because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he now sought to find a place."[4].

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3. Robert E. Park, Race and Culture (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950), p. 373.

4. Robert E. Park in "Introduction" to Everett V. Stonequist, The Marginal Man, 1937, p. xviii; Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man", American Journal of Sociology, May, 1928, No. 6.

Stonequist followed Park in defining marginality in cultural terms. For him "culture conflict and differential are the basic factors in creating the marginal man."[5] Equally explicit, he noted that "it is the fact of cultural duality which is the determining influence in the life of the marginal man."[6] His definition of marginality often runs identical to that of Park, as when he describes the marginal man as "the individual who lives in or has ties of kinship with two or more interacting societies between which there exists sufficient incompatibility to render his own adjustment to them difficult, or impossible. He does not quite, "belong" or feel at home in either group."[7]

The second dimension of marginality useful in locating blacks in the American social structure is social marginality as defined in status terms. Everett Hughes sees marginality as a subjective dilemma arising from an inferior status assignation.[8] Others have come to stress this aspect of

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5. Stonequist, op. cit., p. 215.

6. Ibid., p. 217

7. Stonequist, The Marginal Character of the Jews", in I. Graeber and S. Britt, eds., Jews in the Gentile World (New York: Manmillan Company, 1942), p. 297.

8. E. Hughes, "Social Change and Status Politics: Essay on the Marginal Man," Phylon, X, 1, 1949.

marginality. Antonovsky, for instance, includes in the definition of the marginal situation, examples "where some of the members of one group ... come under the influence of another group ... and where cultural and/or racial barriers serve to block full and legitimate membership within another group."[9]. Continuing this emphasis, Dorothy Nelkin, in her study, argued that the relevant issue should not be the "cultural conflict" experienced by mobile individuals, rather, "the emphasis must be placed on the isolation of a group and the relatively impermeable barriers established by the dominant society. (For example) The migrant community is marginal in that it is situated on the margins of the larger society."[10]. A recent advocate of this view of marginality is Dickie-Clark. The marginal situation" applies very widely, he said, to those "hierarchichal situations in which there is any inconsistency in the ranking of an individual or stratum in any of the matters falling within the scope of the hierarchy..... This inconsistency is taken as the essential core of sociological marginality." 11.

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9. Antonovsky, op. cit., p. 57

10. Dorothy Nelkin, "A Response to Marginality: The Case of Migrant Farm Workers," British Journal of Sociology, XX, 4, December, 1969.

11. Dickie-Clark, The Marginal Situation (London: Routhledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), pp. 39, 48.

There are abundant evidence to support our claim regarding the general omnipotence of the state of social and cultural marginality facing Afro-Americans and also evidence to indicate the extent to which this impairs the advancement of blacks. The problem of marginality is best tapped at the subjective level of black awareness. Consequently an examination of Afro-American literature will reveal such psychological expressions of marginality in feelings of (i) "No-bodiness", (ii) "Blackness as a Burden", (iii) "Being walled in", and (iv) "Homelessness". (i) Nobodiness: Afro-Americans are afflicted by the crushing sense of "nobodiness." In their literature this theme is variously expressed as that of "facelessness" or "invisibility."[12]. William James wrote: "No more fiendish punishment could be devised, were such a thing physically possible than that one should be turned loose in society and remain unnoticed by all the members there."[13]. Ralph Ellison declared, "I am an invisible man... simply because people refuse to see me." As for James Baldwin, it was only in Paris that he could find a workable degree of identity; as long as he remained in North America, "there was not, no matter where

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12. James Baldwin, Nobody Knows My Name, (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1963); Ralph Ellison, Invisible Man New York; Random House Inc., 1952).

13. Quoted in Charles Silberman, Crisis in Black and White, op. cit., p. 53.

one turned, an acceptable image of oneself, no proof of one's existence."[14]. When Bill Russell was kicked about by the police, he wondered, "Why did they do it? What does it make me? Am I nothing? Am I a nonperson?" Malcolm X, as a result of his childhood experiences, remarks that in the eyesight of welfare workers, "We were not people... just things." The feelings of young black children were recently published in book form.[15]. One fourteen-year old child asked: "For what purpose was I born? I don't see. To speak words that no one will listen to, no matter how loud I shout."[16]. For Afro-Americans, it is the very consciousness of self which is suppressed, and this basic self-doubt provides no solid anchorage for great aspirations.

(ii) Blackness as a Burden: On being interviewed, one Afro-American recalled: "I got this letter from a friend of mine. He's gone to Paris and he says, 'come over here. You need a rest from being a Negro."[17]. Essayist-novelist J. Saunders Redding confessed that "one's heart is sickened at the reali-

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14. Quoted in Charles Silberman, Crisis in Black and White, op. cit., p. 71.

15. Stephen Joseph, The Me Nobody Knows: Children Voices from the Ghetto.

16. Ibid., p. 39.

17. Bertram Karon, The Negro Personality, op. cit., p. 1.

zation of the primal energy that goes into the sheer business of living as a Negro in the U.S.A." [18]. Another study based on the childhood experiences of nineteen prominent blacks[19]. registered the point that the black skin brought with it an exposure to "deep hurt, terror and ugly emotions." A few examples taken from these cases will serve to highlight the point. When Daisy Bates found out that her mother was raped and killed, she reacted by complete withdrawal, declaring that "if Jesus is like white people, I don't want any part of him; as a mob approached the home of Walter F. White, he realized that "it made no difference how intelligent or talented my millions of brothers and I were, or how virtuously we lived. A curse like that of Judas was upon us, a mark of degradation fashioned with heavenly authority"; Elizabeth Adams, in desperation, wondered "how God would like it if someone called him a nigger"; Gordon Parks, after coming across racial killings, confessed that he"wondered why God had made me black"; by the time Claude Brown was nine years old, he "had been hit by a bus, thrown in the Harlem River, hit by a car, severly beaten with chain and had set the house afire."

(iii) Being Walled in: Richard Wright in Black Boy, says,

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18. Quoted in Charles Silverman, Crisis in Black and White, op. cit., p. 54.

19. Jay David, Growing Up Black (Toronto: Simin and Schuster of Canada Ltd., 1968).

"I seemed forever condemned, ringed by walls... I feel trapped"; elsewhere he used the metaphor of a "steel prison" to describe his feelings. Langston Hughes in a poem, "As I Grow Older", indicated: "And then the wall rose.../Between me and my dream .../Dimming/The light of my dream/Rose until it touched the sky - the wall." Will Thomas spoke, too, of walls...like morning mists." W.E.B. Du Bois referred constantly to"the veil", or the "colour line" or "the racial mountain" or the "caste line", which created what he called "double consciousness." In Dusk of Dawn he took pains to detail the psychological impact and impasse of marginality resulting from caste segregation:

> It is though one, looking out from a dark cave in a side of an impending mountain, sees the world passing and speaks to it; speaks courteously and persuasively, showing them how these entombed souls are hindered in their natural movement, expression and development... It gradually permeates the minds of the prisoners that the people passing do not hear; that some thick sheet of invisible but horribly tangible plate glass is between them and the world... Some of the passing world stop in curiosity... they laugh and pass on; they still either do not hear at all or hear but dimly, and even what they hear they do not understand.[20]

(iv) Homelessness: Afro-Americans have been denied the advantages of a stable niche in the society, as a result of which they lack that feeling of rootedness, sense of stability,

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20. W.E.B. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn.

and feeling of belonging. This homelessness may be seen in their folk songs and spirituals which constantly express the longing for a home beyond Jordon:

(1) I'm rolling through an unfriendly worl'....

(2) Swing low sweet chariot
Come for to carry me home...

(3) Deep river, my home is over Jordan...

(4) I'm a poor pilgrim of sorrow...
I'm tryin' to make heaven my home...

(5) Sometimes I feel like a motherless child,
A long way from home...

(6) Sometimes I am tossed and driven
Sometimes I don't know where to roam,
I've heard of a city called heaven,
I've started to make it my home...

All of the above are valuable ways of viewing the symptons and consequences of marginality. Frantz Fanon's Black Skin White Masks also provides a superb analysis of the psychological results of marginality, a fact which accounts for the universal validity of Fanon's analysis. In line with our foregoing analysis Fanon depicts the constant psychological traits of blacks - ego-concerns and feelings of insignificance, worthlessness, uneasiness, anxiety, insecurity, devaluation, hypersensitivity and abandonment. All this stemmed essentially from the structural location of marginality: "Without a Negro post, without a Negro future, it was impossible for me to live my negrohood. Not yet white, no longer wholly black, I was damned."

The Hidden Advantage of Black Marginality:

Despite the pessimism which the above description would seem to justify, one can nevertheless truly talk of the dialectics of black liberation because of a certain dynamic quality inherent to the marginal location. Marginality entails insecurity, discontentment and conflict. It generates such escapisms like drugs, alcholism, suicides, migrations, flights of fantasy, in addition to the more constructive social movements. In fact, most of the powerful and dynamic black movements have been generated by such marginal blacks rather than by those "integrated."

Their marginal position has further provided them with a certain degree of detachment and exteriority which has enabled them to remain above the system. This is what Veblen, in another context, called the advantages of backwardness. By being excluded from the system, blacks have been saved from the drudgery of being incorporated, from the debilitation of the black bourgeoisie, and have emerged, theoretically, with a much clearer image of the pitfalls of white society and white civilization. They qualify more as the stuff of the Marcusean revolutionary man, "a man who rejects the performance of principles governing the established societies.. who has rejected the hypocritical puritan morality, (and who has).. a good conscience of joy and pleasure."[21.]

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21. Herbert Marcuse, Liberation from the Affluent Society" in D. Cooper, The Dialectics of Liberation, Penguin, 1968, p. 184.

This possibility of transcending the system has occurred most markedly among a number of black intellectuals, who like prodigal sons, have returned back to their roots, and have moved towards working out a revolutionary ideology. Aime Cesaire in his monumental poem - "Statement On My Return to my Native Country" - gave vivid expression to this phenomenon of "wisdom-through-suffering" by jubilantly exalting the black antithesis:

> Hurray for those who never invented anything
> hurray for those who never explored anything
> hurray for those who never conquered anything
> but who, in awe, give themselves up to the essence of things
> hurray for joy
> hurray for love
> hurray for the pain of incarnate tears...
> Give me the wild belief of the magician
> Give my hands the power to create...
> Turn me into a fighter against all conceit
> And yet obedient to my people's spirit...
> Do not turn me into a man of hate whom I shall hate,
> for in order to emerge into this unique race,
> You know my worldwide love...
> Listen to the white world
> how it resents its great efforts...
> Listen how their defeats sound from their victories.
> Mercy! Mercy for our omnicient, naive conquers.

The "conclusion" of Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth similarly dramatises this transcendental function:

> Come, then comrades; it would be as well to decide at once to change our ways ... We must leave our dreams and abandon our old beliefs and friendships... Leave this Europe where they are never done talking of Man, yet murder men elsewhere... Look at them today swaying between atomic and spiritual disintegration... So, my brothers, how is it that we do not understand that we have better things to do than to follow that same Europe?.. European achievements, European techniques, and the European style ought no longer to tempt us and to throw us off our balances... When I search for man in the technique and the style of Europe, I see only a succession of negations of man, and an avalanche of murders... Two centuries ago, a former European colony decided to catch up with Europe. It succeeded so well that the U.S.A. became a monster in which the taints, the sickness, and inhumanity of Europe have grown to appalling dimensions... So comrades, let us not pay tribute to Europe by creating

states, institutions, and societies which draw their inspirations from her.....

(3) The Ensuing Separation

Both "push" and "pull" factors have worked towards the acceptance of various doctrines of black "separatism", a term which refers both to institutional and psychological separation. Historically, in order to guarantee maximum white control, whites ensured that black separation was at its minimum. Any assertion of black independence, any movement towards black autonomy, was seen as a dangerous manifestation of black rebellion and black uppity-ness. The more black separation there was, the less the possibility of white exploitation.

However, an emancipated slave cannot remain in the household of his former master and be anything but the slave. To consume his freedom, to realize his manhood, he has to severe ties and separate, just as a growing child must assert his independence and go out into the world in order to establish new and independent roots. Such feelings like "nobodiness", "blackness as a burden", "being walled in" and "homelessness" can be eliminated only by embracing some ideology with an important separatist orientation, as is found in such movements as Black Nationalism, Black Marxism, Pan-Africanism, Back-to-Africa, or Black Studies. In fact in the history of the United States these movements have been tremendously important in terms of their mobilizing and therapeutic effects.

They deliberately aimed at combating marginality and so it is no wonder that all the positive attitudes associated today with blackness were nurtured in the womb of sectarian separatist movements rather than in movements of integration, attitudes like black pride, black unity, black is beautiful, and black power. Besides, the ideology of Separatism seems to unleach a creative mental energy which is not found amongst Integrationists. For instance, Du Bois and his followers who worked around "Crisis" magazine were a more creative intellectually than Booker T. Washington and his Tuskegee group. So important is the ideology of Separatism that it seems plausible to inject some reservations towards Fanon's theory of violence, for it seems demonstratable that the therapy and the "cleansing of the mind" of symptoms of marginality occurs less from the violence of movements and more from the elements of separatism, security and discipline inherent to these movements as is so well demonstrated in such overtly non-violent separatist movements like Garveyism and the Black Muslims.

On the other hand, the Civil Rights Movement, which is integrationists in essence, does not cater to these psychological deprivations, but rather increases them because integration - both substantive and token - is one of the very sources of marginality. Historically, integration for blacks has meant broken dreams, exploitation, frustrations and impoverishment (psychological and economic); it is by defini-

tion a means by which false-consciousness and marginality are institutionalized by failing to respect their cultural uniqueness. Substantive Separation is, on the other hand, a return to black ethnocentricism, and is the only means to reduce the costs of marginality. For this reason, whites have always opposed Separatism. For them black separation has meant insecurity, uneasiness and powerlessness - in short, it generates or re-allocates all the elements of Marginality from blacks to whites themselves. At the Black Writer's Conference in Montreal on August, 1968, the author witnessed whites breaking down the door of a room where blacks were having a secluded "family discussion." Blacks have long known "Watergate", though in much more forceful and brutal forms!

Separatism, then, is a method, just one aspect of an ideology of change, and not an end in itself. The Sociologist, Alvin Gouldner, stated:

> In so far as a system is composed of some parts which have a high degree of functional autonomy, it has the potentials for certain types of changes... which would not exist had there been no functional autonomy"[22].

All this means that in principle the ideology of Separatism is plausible but certain practical and pragmatic considera-

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22. Alvin Gouldner, "Reciprocity and Autonomy in Functional Theory" in L. Gross, Symposium on Socological Theory. Harper and Row, New York, 1959.

tions nevertheless comes quickly to mind: Is it possible in practice, and if so, should it be territorial or institutional, psychological, economic or political? What strategies should we adopt to become separate? Should we be separated within the system or outside the system? What should we do with our separatedness, once we have attained it?

To answer these questions objectively, it is first necessary to acknowledge the importance of context which will direct us to take into account the unique position faced by Afro-Americans. They constitute an internal colony composed of a qualitative and quantitative minority, having little economic and political power, suffering from a high degree of spatial and mental sprawl, and living on the margins of the most powerful and highly developed capitalist system which has exhibited a remarkable degree of adaptability to change.

Therefore black separation in the United States can only occur in the form of the development of a black counter-culture or sub-system. A direct military onslaught on the system is out ruled. Blacks have no choice but to develop their own counter-culture and this process will prove much easier than trying to become integrated and incorporated into white society.

The development of a black sub-system adds up to black community development, which in essence, entails three aspects:

(i) A re-examination of everything in the light of the long run interests and needs of blacks;

(ii) The progressive detachment from white institutions and white values generally, and

(iii) The creation and development of black community institutions for blacks and controlled by blacks, in the spheres of politics, economics and culture.

Their community development will only come from a multi-dimensional attack on the basic problem of community underdevelopment, disorganization and powerlessness. They must develop a counter-sub-system and relate to the American system like a flea in the belly of the monster, an internal force that can silently wear down the monster from within. Concretely, black community development will automatically weaken the American system since the latter's strength and development is directly based on their underdevelopment. Implicit is the premise that it is easier to change and develop a sub-system, to become a part of one's own system, than it is to change the larger whole. This is implicit in the ideology of Black Power though its advocates glaringly failed to show the dynamic connection between such changes <u>in</u> the system and the ensuing change <u>of</u> the system.

Separation is by far superior as a strategy to either integration or marginality. It recognizes the group-nature of American society, and attempts to mobilize blacks on the basis of their unique experiences and their distinct interests. Any black movement or ideology that fails to accept the dictates of this group imperative of American life is doomed to fail, for the fact of ethnic solidarity and ethnic power are

firmly rooted in American society. The idea of separation is not simply or mainly spatial in connotation: it is based on shared experiences, communicative effectiveness and interests, which together comprise the substance of their uniqueness and constitute their claim to being a "people". As Karl Deutsch stated:

> Peoples are marked off from each other by communicative barriers, by "marked gaps" in the efficiency of communication... Membership in a people essentially consists in wide complementarity of social communication. It consists in the ability to communicate more effectively, and over a wider range of subjects, with members of one large group than with outsiders.... Complementarity is greater if it permits individuals to communicate efficiently no matter how often they change their residence or their occupations....[23.]

Separatism is purely a pragmatic ideology of black preservation and black advancement. But black Separation will eventually become a reality only when whites find it costlier to have blacks on the margins of white society than the alternative of black separation. A baby matures in the womb of the mother until the point when it is ejected, otherwise it destroys the mother. Civil disobedience and the politics of black violence in the 1960's partially convinced whites of the greater

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23. Karl Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1966, p. 97.

costs of black marginality, hence their current drive towards token separation and token integration.

However, while embracing the ideology of Separatism, blacks should be alert to certain possible misconceptions and dangers:

(i) Token Separation: This occurs in the case of neocolonial regimes or closer still, in Black Studies Departments where effective control remains in the hands of the white ruling class despite all the outward appearances of independence and separation.

(ii) Caste Separation: This sitting-at-the-back-of-the-bus type of separation occurs for example in Aparthied systems where the people are fixated at a lower level of development and are thereby crippled and denied the normal patterns of growth and development. Blacks have long known this type of separation - first into "slave quarters" on slave ships and on plantations, and later in ghettoes;

(iii) Confusing isolation with Separation: The American Colonization Society attempted to isolate freed blacks from the slaves; likewise Maroons were shipped out of Jamaica to Nova Scotia and later to Sierre Leone. This is not separation as such, but isolation, a strategy developed to enhance white control.

While Sociologists have in the past identified with and accepted the ruling class notion of Integration and have proceeded to develop elaborate models of race relations cycles,

pluralism or other assimilationist and functionalist models to support this basic assumption, I have intimated here that Sociologists should instead attempt to develop dynamic models (e.g. based on the Dialectics) to show why some form of black Separation is inevitable and the form that it can take as well as the processes which are leading to this.